

by a President who believes that one can have a war not only without casualties on our side but with few, if any, casualties on the other side. You should not begin a war for reasons that do not justify the use of force, and only the gravest national security reasons do so. And, if you get in one, you should not go into it halfheartedly or without a desire actually to win.

Mr. President, what are the potential outcomes? If we are overwhelmingly successful, we may get sometime in the next week, or the next month, or the next year, exactly the privileges that we sought in the first place—the right to send our soldiers into a now devastated countryside in order to require people to live together who do not wish to live together, and perhaps to enforce an autonomy, which I have already said both sides oppose, or, alternatively, maybe we can get the Russians or someone else to help us reach a negotiated solution in which the Kosovars will be worse off than they were before, and in which the barbarism of Mr. Milosevic will at least have been partially rewarded. Or we may end up sending our own troops into that devilishly difficult part of the Balkans, whether from the south, or the west and the north—and we do not yet know—with an escalation of what will still be a halfhearted war with secondary goals, goals that will not include the removal of the present government in Belgrade and the establishment of a real peace. Or, I suppose it is possible—just remotely possible—that the President and NATO may decide that we want a full-scale war against Serbia until that regime is, in fact, destroyed.

None of these is an appetizing outcome, by any stretch of the imagination. We are left with these alternatives only, I think, because this administration did not seriously consider what it was doing before it began doing it, or seriously consider both the cost and expense in men, material, money, and prestige of the United States for such a dubious goal.

I wish that I had a firm, accurate, and a favorable outcome to look forward to. I wish I could come up with the appropriate means to reach such a goal. However, it seems to me that if we have learned anything in the last several years from other parts of the world, and in the last several weeks from this part of the world, it is that the armed services of the United States should only be used for a vitally important interest of the United States. If they are then to be used, they should be used with a clear and worthy goal, and with a degree of ruthlessness that assures we attain that goal. At this point we have done nothing but worsen our relationships with the Russians and with the neighbors of Kosovo itself at great expense to ourselves and at a horrendous expense to the victims in Kosovo who have been killed, driven from their homes, or driven out of their homeland entirely, without any

significant prospect of returning at any time soon.

We do need a serious national debate on the subject and we need a President of the United States who far more clearly articulates our goals and how we are to attain those goals. We have not had that kind of presentation. For that reason, support for the United States efforts is extremely shallow and is almost certain to disappear once the casualty lists begin to be published in this country.

It is time for candor. It is time for clarity. It is time for a clear statement of our goals. In fact, we are well past time for both of those and we have not received them. I think we are faced with an extremely serious challenge with no clear way to that proper and appropriate goal.

RECESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Under the previous order, the Senate will now stand in recess until the hour of 2:15 p.m.

Thereupon, the Senate, at 12:32 p.m., recessed until 2:20 p.m.; whereupon, the Senate reassembled when called to order by the Presiding Officer [Mr. ROBERTS].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The distinguished Senator from New Mexico is recognized.

Mr. DOMENICI. Parliamentary inquiry. What is before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is no business before the Senate at the moment.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION ON THE BUDGET FOR FISCAL YEAR 2000

MOTION TO APPOINT CONFEREES

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I move that the Chair be authorized to appoint conferees on the part of the Senate with respect to the budget resolution.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There is 1 hour equally divided on the motion.

Mr. DOMENICI. Thank you, Mr. President. I understand Senator REID has some motions to instruct. I do not think they will be in order unless we yield back the time that has just been announced.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I say to Senator LAUTENBERG that the situation now is that the motion I made to appoint conferees is pending. There is 1 hour on it. I am prepared to yield back time on that if the Senator from New Jersey is, and then he can proceed to his first motion.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. We are OK with that.

Mr. DOMENICI. I yield back the half hour we have.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. And I yield back the time we have on our side.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, may I ask the distinguished Senator from

New Jersey, and the Senate would probably like to know, what he has by way of motions on his side. How many does he think he is going to have this afternoon?

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Since the chairman of the committee asked how many I think, I am free to give an answer. I think there are four, but my guess is that we have to wait to see if there are going to be any more or not.

Mr. DOMENICI. Parliamentary inquiry. Is it not correct, now that the time has been yielded back on the motion to appoint conferees, each motion to instruct carries 30 minutes equally divided and that is all the time available at this point?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DOMENICI. Unless and until that is yielded back, another motion is not in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is correct.

Mr. DOMENICI. Are second-degree amendments to those motions in order?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes; second-degree amendments are in order, and they have 20 minutes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Equally divided?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I think we will have one that has to do with praising our men in the military which we will attach to this at some point. Substantively, unless Senator LAUTENBERG proposes something that prompts a second-degree amendment of some type or prompts us to make an amendment, we do not have any contemplated at this time.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. It is hard for me to imagine there is anything here—

Mr. DOMENICI. We can accept them; right?

Mr. LAUTENBERG. We will have to kind of slug our way through and see how it goes. I appreciate the introduction that the distinguished chairman of the Budget Committee presented. We are going to offer our motions on instructing conferees.

Mr. President, are we now in a position to go ahead and offer those?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes; the Senator is correct.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Just to recount, there is a half hour equally divided on the motions themselves?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

MOTION TO INSTRUCT CONFEREES

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I send to the desk a motion to instruct the conferees on H. Con. Res. 68, the Concurrent Resolution on the Budget for Fiscal Year 2000.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the motion be dispensed with.

Mr. DOMENICI. I reserve the right to object. Is it very lengthy?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator reserves the right to object.